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The Chilean Left

ERIC CHESTER

Chile does not fit the north-american stereotype of a Latin American society. Its population is overwhelmingly European in descent and it is urbanized, so the peasantry does not constitute the social base of society. Santiago is the center of virtually every activity in the country with a population of over 3.5 million, out of 11.5 million total in Chile. The country is poor by U.S. standards, but it does have a basic infrastructure of roads and telecommunications, and it has an elaborate educational system with a highly literate populace. There is considerable industry, as well as copper mining, and the industrial working class plays a key role in the economy and in politics.

Chile is therefore not a typical Third World country, but, nevertheless, the economy is in terrible shape. Chile depends heavily on the extraction and export of copper, and copper, like most other raw materials, is selling at very low prices due to the prolonged slump in the world economy. One result of the slump has been the inability of Chile to pay its huge foreign debt, most of it borrowed when copper prices were considerably higher and the multinational banks were recycling petrodollars. The burden of the Chilean debt is comparable, on a per person basis, to that of Mexico, and of course the situation only gets worse.

The slump in copper prices and the foreign debt would be bad enough, but the crisis has been compounded by the free market policies of the government. The junta's economic advisors were trained at the University of Chicago, and their commitment to private enterprise is religious. Thus, despite the collapse in copper prices, the state has made no effort to stimulate the economy. As a result, at least 40% of the Chilean workforce is without meaningful employment. Poverty has become the norm, as hundreds of thousands live in barrios of plywood shacks, without running water, heat, or electricity and with open ditches as the only means of waste disposal.

The poverty is so extreme that in downtown Chile the main streets are lined with people selling chiclets and candy, usually without a permit and therefore subject to police sweeps. A bag of garbage dumped by a restaurant will immediately attract several people who carefully sift through the debris for scraps of food. Mothers with young children squat on the sidewalks begging for a few pesos, the children so undernourished that they barely move.

All this in a country with a long Continuation...
tradition of working class militancy and political activism. Even before the Allende government, Chile had a considerable set of welfare programs, and under Allende virtually the entire workforce found employment. For the mass of the people, the dictatorship has not only led to the brutal suppression of every oppositional activity, but also it has created abysmal poverty.

The Christian Democrats
Big business and its political allies have acknowledged the total bankruptcy of the current regime, and corporate executives are busy distancing themselves from the junta. Central to the liberal opposition is the Catholic hierarchy, an important force in Chile. For the last several years the bishops have publicly condemned the repression, and recently they have consistently advocated an immediate transition to democracy.

The largest party in Chile, the Christian Democrats, is closely tied to the church hierarchy, and it also has links to the United States. As part of its covert campaign to overthrow Allende, the CIA under the Nixon administration heavily funded the Christian Democrats, and there is considerable reason to believe that substantial sums are again being distributed through the same channels. Nevertheless, the Christian Democrats have a significant working class base, and indeed the largest trade union federation, the CNT, is led by Christian Democratic activists.

Christian Democrats have also been the dominant force in the Democratic Alliance (AD), a broad coalition of moderate and social democratic parties and movements. The AD demands immediate elections and an end to the repression, but its program also calls for the protection of private property. It has also decided to pursue a purely non-violent strategy in toppling the dictatorship. The Democratic Alliance has been the organizational framework through which the Chilean opposition has engaged in a series of discussions with the U.S. government. State Department officials have met with AD leaders in an effort to structure a transitional process which would allow the U.S. to dump Pinochet while maintaining “stability” and ultimately preserving Chile as a “friendly” ally.

The Left
Even though the Christian Democrats are the largest single political party, the Left, taken as a whole, is at least as large, although far more divided. Since 1983, when the government started to ease the severity of the repression, organized opposition has burgeoned. What follows is a first effort to understand a complex and fluid situation. It is primarily based on my discussions with IC and MAPU militants and leaders (see below), but it is also derived from my own observations and reading of the Chilean press.

Most Chilean militants are young, between fifteen and twenty-five in age. Radical politics in Chile is dangerous, and it frequently requires surviving the rigors of underground life. Many of the activists are women, and women are frequently in the forefront on street demonstrations. Machismo continues to distort interpersonal relationships, but alternative life styles are beginning to replace machismo as the cultural norm among young people.

Most organizations on the Left have tried to open up their internal life so as to encourage the more active participation of women. The Left has also become more responsive to feminist concerns, although the Communist party has lagged in this regard. Despite the progress, few women have been permitted to become national leaders, and support for controversial issues on the feminist agenda is sometimes sacrificed to the goal of building a broad coalition which can encompass segments of the Christian Democratic party and which will not encur the enmity of the Catholic church.

Political differences within the Left are pervasive and deeply felt. In Santiago, socialism is the hegemonic ideological force. I was told by one activist that there are 25,000 militants, either socialist or Communist, just in Santiago, a truly staggering number, and, from what I saw, a plausible one.

Armed Struggle
The most important alternative oppositional coalition to the AD is the Movement for a Popular Democracy (MDP). Within the MDP, the Communist party is by far the strongest tendency. The immediate point of controversy between the two coalitions is their attitude toward guerrilla warfare.
The National Guard in Honduras

Several grassroots organizations across the country are working against the use of the National Guard units in Honduras. The following interview with Peggy Moore, coordinator of the Clearing House for Information on the National Guard, is reprinted with permission from the Honduras Update, Vol. 4 No. 12, Sept. 1986.

Q. Why is the Guard being used in Central America?
A. The Administration is using what they are calling a "low intensity" strategy in Central America. This term is being used to reassure the U.S. public that our military presence in the region is non-menacing and not dangerous for U.S. troops. In reality this is just a new word for counter-insurgency, the "winning the hearts and minds" approach that failed in Vietnam. It is the integration of diverse elements of policy—security assistance, economic assistance, "humanitarian" and development aid—into a comprehensive program to advance U.S. interests, playing down "military solutions," and stressing bipartisanship as the principle of U.S. intervention in Central America. It is a strategy based on the belief that winning "low intensity" warfare means changing the way people view the world at the grassroots level both in Central America and here in the U.S.

It is clear that the National Guard is an integral part of the administration's strategy in the region. They are participating in military construction and maintenance, building roads to connect military bases, in medical programs, civic action programs, and military maneuvers created to train the Honduran military as well as the National Guard itself. This provides a "goodwill" P.R. cover for extensive militarization. It also provides a backdoor policy for the placement of troops in Central America since they are being sent under the auspices of "training" and do not need Congressional approval for deployment.

Q. Is the Air Guard involved?
A. Yes, Air Guards from up to 15 states in the last year have been flying regular flights to Panama, the home of the U.S. Southern Command, and from there they make embassy runs into every country in Central America (including Nicaragua) with supplies, including military supplies. California found out in the last few months that the California Air National Guard has been flying as many as three flights a week out of Van Nuys Air Force Base since 1978. The Air Guard has taken over the transport role that 10 years ago would have been the job of the regular Air Force.

Q. How did the St. Louis Pledge of Resistance become aware of National Guard involvement in Central America?
A. Last fall the St. Louis Pledge was tipped off by a reporter who had talked to a local National Guardsman. He was told that Missouri Guard units were going to help build a road in northern Honduras. Aware of the U.S. buildup in Honduras, we decided to look into Guard involvement in the region and quickly became aware that the Missouri Guard was coordinating this road building project that would involve 4,000 Missouri Guardspeople and Guardspeople from five other states. We mounted a demonstration at the Guard Armory in St. Louis and proceeded to send the information about the project to the other five states.

We were told by Guard officials in Missouri that this project was a "goodwill" mission to provide a road in a part of Honduras that had never had a permanent road. It would make it easier for people to get to market and to schools and that we should be supporting so noble and American an effort. While doing research on this project we found in the 1984 General Accounting Office Report a long list of charges of the illegal funding of military exercises in Honduras by the Department of Defense that involved military construction, medical and civic action programs, training maneuvers. These projects were being funded out of monies earmarked for operations and maintenance to get around the need for Congressional authorization. This report said that large projects were being broken down into smaller parts so they could be

Continued on next page
funded this way. It gave as an example two separate road building projects, one from Olanchito to San Lorenzo and the other from San Lorenzo to Jocon. Missouri was building a road from Jocon to Yoro. It became apparent that Missouri was putting in the third piece of this longer road and that its main purpose was to connect U.S. military bases.

Requests for information on the Guard issue began to come in every week and we developed a packet explaining the Missouri experience and began mailing it out to different states. It took off from there and we now have 250 organizers from all over the country on our mailing list which continues to grow. We see our role as a clearinghouse on information about the Guard issue. We try to keep an updated picture of Guard involvement in Central America and about the grassroots resistance here in the U.S.

Q. What is the national picture?

A. The resistance around Guard deployment in Central America has come out of the grassroots state by state and involves Pledge, solidarity and human rights groups. The Guard issue provides a local handle for peace groups to make the U.S. war in Central America visible and also provides an opportunity to legally challenge a misguided foreign policy through the Governor and state legislature of each state. Activists in each state must develop their own strategy because different kinds of Guard units are being used in each state and at different times. Each Governor has to be dealt with individually.

The momentum started when Massachusetts and Maine were able in early 1986 to get their Governors to say no to Guard deployment in Central America. Shortly after that, Vermont, New Mexico, Washington, and Ohio refused to permit Guard training in Honduras. New York and Arizona reserved the right to say no on a case-by-case basis. Minnesota and Wisconsin have privately told activists in their states that they would make the same qualifications.

This has been a very empowering process for all of us on the grassroots level, even in states where there is no chance that the Governor will say no. Through demonstrations (some involving civil disobedience), petitions, educational events, letter-writing campaigns, phone-ins, vigils and lawsuits, the grassroots is having an incredible impact in making this into a national issue. In Maine, a group of state legislators met with their Governor to brief him on the real situation in Honduras. In Iowa, a delegation of people including farmers and legislators traveled to Honduras and Nicaragua. After meeting with many people in those countries including President Azcona and President Ortega these Iowans asked their Governor to refuse to allow the National Guard to train in Honduras. In California, people protested their Governor's decision to provide a contingent of 30 mainly Chicano and Latino soldiers to act as military police and translators. In Massachusetts, representatives of solidarity groups pressured Governor Dukakis to not allow the use of National Guard units in Honduras and to stop the training of Green Berets at the National Guard base on Cape Cod, Massachusetts. In Arizona, the Peace in Central America Coalition demonstrated in front of the National Guard Armory to express their opposition to the participation of their National Guard in the building of a Vietnam-like military infrastructure in Honduras. In Arkansas, activists printed a "travel brochure" that welcomes guardspeople to a "stimulating two-week military vacation" in "enchanting, mysterious Mocoron, Honduras ... land of contras." Two hundred people in Phila-
delphia marched to the U.S. Naval Air Station and stated that “Naval task forces off shore and a continuous series of military maneuvers in Honduras have given direct support to the air war in El Salvador. . . .” Given that this is an election year many states have made this a campaign issue. We consistently hear from around the country that this issue is generating more media coverage than anything else we have done to date around Central America. This is the perfect vehicle for building statewide networks in order to mount statewide campaigns and through our national work we are able to put people in different parts of the country in touch with each other. The issue has taken on a national momentum at the grassroots level that has been extremely empowering by bringing the militarization process, in a very sensible way, into the center of our local communities. National Guardspeople are our neighbors and relatives living in our own communities.

Q. What are the chances that the legislation to federalize the Guard will pass the Senate?
A. Right after the House vote, since it was passed by such a large margin, the prospects looked bleak. But since then we have received feedback from Governors’ offices all around the country that they are determined to challenge this legislation. We are optimistic that this will have impact on the Senate vote. We have put out a call for the grassroots to continue putting pressure on their Governors, state legislators and congresspeople. We have asked the National Pledge of Resistance to call a national action right before the Senate vote, defining it as an escalation in the militarization process and restating what we have said all along: that it is proof that the National Guard is being used by the administration as an integral part of the militarization of Central America.

We feel that this legislation is designed to signal to Governors that objec­tion to Guard deployment on the basis of the foreign policy issue means playing hard ball with the administration. There is a decent chance that this amendment will be scrapped in conference committee if we can continue to make the issue hot enough.

Q. If the legislation passes, will it mean

The following responses were collected from 39 U.S. Governors between May 30 and August 6, 1986.

Q. Does the Governor of this State approve of sending National Guard personnel to take some part in military exercises in Honduras?
A. Absolutely not. It is naive to think that creating grassroots momentum around this issue would be ignored by the administration. As the anti-war movement builds in this country, they will continually throw road blocks in our way and we must be prepared to deal with them. In reality, this is an incredible measure of the impact that we are having. We have taken the offensive and this is a clear message that we have put the administration on the defensive. The intent from the beginning was to blow the cover on their “low intensity” strategy and force them to wage their war openly, and I believe we have taken the first big step in doing that.

Q. Where do we go from here?
A. We cannot afford to let the momentum falter. In the short term we must continue to pressure our Governors, state legislators, and congresspeople. We must find every available opportunity to raise this to debate publicly in our own communities and encourage more states to mount campaigns. In the longer term, we must take on as a major strategy focus for 1987 the local manifestations of the war. This will include Air and Army National Guard deployment, local regular Reserve deployment, and local training and deployment of Special Forces anywhere in Central America. We also must be aware of the training of foreign military in our local areas and National Guard, Reserve, and regular military recruitment and P.R. campaigns, including the placement of ROTC programs in inner city high schools and the Boy Scout programs affiliated with the military. And we must research and develop our understanding of the links between this militarization and U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Panama, Guatemala, and Costa Rica.

For more information on the Guard issue, contact the St. Louis Pledge of Resistance, 438 N. Skinker, St. Louis, MO 63130 or call (314) 725-2393.
All of the groupings inside of the MDP are actively engaged in armed struggle. Although the guerrilla units are small and do not pose a direct military threat, they are an unsettling factor. While I was in Chile, the former head of the secret police had his house shot up, even though he succeeded in escaping unharmed.

The Communist party is itself deeply divided. Much of its strength lies in its youth group, but these young people have been recruited on the basis of an aggressive policy of hostility toward the regime. Now, as Chile approaches a return to democracy, the CP leadership is reverting to its traditional Popular Front program. Behind the scenes a dialogue has been initiated with the Christian Democrats, with the aim of developing a common approach to the transitional period.

The other significant organization within the MDP is the MIR (Left Revolutionary Movement). Even though the MIR is small, it has a certain influence because of its long record of armed struggle. Still deeply underground and secretive, there are nonetheless persistent reports of deep divisions within MIR, in particular in regard to the essential characteristics of a socialist society.

Some elements within MIR, and a minority of the Communist party, have concluded that the counterrevolution can only be defeated through a one-party dictatorship. Cuba has a great deal of legitimacy throughout the Chilean Left as a symbol of resistance to U.S. aggression, but some within the MIR also look to Cuba as a model for the socialist transformation. I was told that there is also a significant section of the MIR which has a more participatory view of socialism, and which works closely with the left-wing tendency of the Christian Left (IC), a group discussed below.

The Moderate Left

While the MDP has rejected the Democratic Alliance as the organizational focal point for the broad opposition to the junta, there are several left-wing organizations which operate within, or close to, the AD. The most important of these is MAPU (Movement for United Popular Action), which split from the Christian Democrats in 1969, just before Allende was elected. Under Allende, MAPU represented the left-wing of the Popular Unity coalition, while MIR remained on the outside.

Since then, MAPU has moved considerably to the right. Its dominant tendency seeks to develop a program which can include the progressive wing of Christian Democracy. As a result, MAPU is reluctant to organize for abortion rights, an important issue in Chile where contraceptives are not readily available and unsafe, illegal abortions are numerous. Instead, MAPU wants to focus on stimulating the economy toward full employment and reviving the health and educational systems. Nationalizations would be limited to the banking system, much of which is already in the state sector after having gone bankrupt. On the foreign debt, MAPU would seek to renegotiate the terms of payment by organizing a coordinated response to the multinational banks by all of the Latin American countries.

By U.S. standards this is a fairly radical program, but within the Chilean context it is tame indeed. Underlying the adoption of this program is the belief that its implementation, with the support of Christian Democratic progressives, would not trigger U.S. intervention. Given that the CP is certain to play an influential role, a broad coalition would be more likely to succeed.

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role in any potential coalition government of the Left, as well as the record of U.S. sensitivity to any manifestation of Latin American resistance, this is a highly questionable strategy.

The Christian Left

The largest group to reject this cautious approach is the Christian Left (IC). IC is a 1971 split from MAPU, and its politics have been greatly influenced by liberation theology, with its emphasis on the priority of the poor, although many of the IC militants are also Marxists. IC is the most rapidly growing group on the Chilean left, second only to the CP in size. IC stands for a grass-roots mobilization to overthrow the Pinochet regime, and its vision of socialism is pluralist and participatory. Although IC opposes armed struggle at this point, seeing it as involving a few rather than mobilizing the many, it also recognizes that a confrontation with the ruling class, and with the United States, is probable once the dictatorship has fallen. One key aspect of this confrontation will involve the foreign debt, much of it owed to U.S. banks. IC argues that Chile should repudiate the debt, in conjunction with the other Latin American countries.

IC is strongly committed to women's liberation. Despite its Catholic ideology, the organization supports the legalization of abortion. Patriarchal relations are the subject of internal education, and women are actively encouraged to assume leadership roles. Indeed, women constitute one-third of the group's national leadership today.

As with every other tendency in Chile, IC has recently experienced a period of intense controversy. These have centered on the proposal to create a new and broadly based socialist party. In 1970, the Socialist party, Allende's party, was the single most important component of the Popular Unity coalition. Since then, the SP has disintegrated as a cohesive force in a series of splits. There are somewhere between ten and twenty distinct and separate splinter organizations with roots in the SP, each with its own set of leaders. Most are small, but taken together they would still represent a significant force on the Left.

For the last several years the whole spectrum of socialist organizations, Catholic and Marxist, have met for a continuing series of discussions. (This informal grouping is called the Socialist Bloc.) While I was in Chile, one of these meetings took place in Argentina, just across the Chilean border. Most socialists agree on the vital necessity of initiating a new and broadly based socialist party which could act as an effective counterweight to CP influence.

Still the process of bringing together the many socialist organizations has been arduous, and remains unresolved. The differences which have arisen within the socialist bloc have been the focal point for controversy within IC. Both tendencies agree that IC should continue to push for the formation of a broader socialist organization, one which will include the entire set of SP splinter groups and IC. The differences arise in determining which direction to move from this core.

One grouping within IC wants to include MAPU within the future socialist organization, while it seeks to keep the MIR at a distance. This tendency is skeptical of the MIR's commitment to a socialist democracy, and wary of MIR's emphasis on armed struggle. The other tendency proposes to exclude MAPU from the socialist regroupment because of its moderate program, but these IC activists work closely with the MIR, and they are eager to bring it into a future socialist party. They feel certain that MIR can be moved from a vanguard perspective to one which emphasizes the active participation of working people in their own liberation.

Conclusion

For a northamerican, Chile represents a challenging and energizing experience. Politics are taken seriously, and the debate is lively and intense. Those who advocate radical changes in the social and economic structure are influential, and their numbers are growing. At the same time the women's movement is gaining in strength, and feminist demands are becoming important items on the agenda for social change. Once the dictatorship falls, which is bound to happen and soon, Chile will enter a period of acute tension, a period in which the decision to initiate a socialist transformation could become an immediate possibility.

Chile's problems are enormous, but so is its potential. We, as socialists and feminists in the U.S., can learn a tremendous amount from the Chilean experience. We can also be of vital service to the Chilean Left by agitating and organizing against U.S. intervention, and in this way limiting the options of the imperial power brokers.

Eric Chester is a long-time activist who presently lives in Somerville and teaches economics at UMass/Boston. He is the author of Socialists and the Ballot Box, Praeger: 1985.

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212-533-0008
The Carolina Interfaith Task Force on Central America, 1105 Sapling Place, Raleigh, NC 27609.

The Carolina Interfaith Task Force on Central America, CITCA, has gained national recognition for its leadership role in developing creative education/action programs for the religious community. During the next 12 months, CITCA has many goals. They will increase the number of city-level interfaith task forces on Central America in the Salisbury, NC, Laurinburg, Southern Pines region from one to three; develop interfaith groups in Anderson, SC and Aiken, SC region; recruit 4 to 6 people from these areas to go on a Witness for Peace delegation to Nicaragua; train delegations from these cities to visit their U.S. Representatives and educate the people in these areas about the current situation in Central America and the role of U.S. policy. CITCA believes that Congress is the primary focus for achieving peace in Central America and that we must organize constituencies of southern Congressional districts to actively educate their representatives for a constructive peaceful alternative to the military solutions sought by the Reagan Administration if we intend to change U.S. policy. The 8th Congressional District of North Carolina is a rural, agricultural county in northeast Colorado. This is an extremely politically conservative community and support for peace activities is hard to come by. In addition, this county has been hit hard by the farm crisis and many people are unemployed and simply can't afford contributions or subscriptions to the group's newsletter. The newsletter, Peace Call, which has been published since 1984, has an average monthly circulation of around 80 people. It provides background information on peace issues, legislative updates, and information about local and state activities. They also have a legislative alert telephone tree to alert people to pending peace-related legislation, so they can have the opportunity to contact their elected representatives and make their voices heard. For several years the group has also participated in festivals with an informational and/or fundraising booth. They have sponsored speakers, slides and films, sometimes in cooperation with local churches or other groups. They have also distributed books and other informational materials and have a speaker's bureau which will supply speakers to local organizations interested in learning about the arms race or Central America. Resist's grant of $300 went towards their outreach work.

Gay Community News, 167 Tremont St., Fifth Floor, Boston, MA 02111. Gay Community News is one of the most established and respected weekly newspapers in the country for lesbians and gay males. Throughout their 12 years of publication, they have maintained a commitment to gay and lesbian liberation, to feminism, and to drawing the connections between the gay and lesbian movement and other progressive movements in which they also participate. The paper covers politics, legal issues, and gay/lesbian culture, incorporating issues of sex, race, and class into the articles. GCN has a reputation for being on the cutting edge by raising delicate and difficult issues—the politics of AIDS research and funding; lesbian battering; racism within the gay/lesbian community; self-imposed and external censorship, particularly as it relates to radical sex issues. GCN is an active participant and vital chronicler of the annual gatherings of gay men and lesbians in celebration of Pride week. Additionally, these few weeks of activities every year provides them with the best opportunity to reach thousands of people, particularly those who are more closeted or less visible, or who come from geographically and socially isolated areas. A recent Resist grant of $500 went towards some of the particularly heavy expenses incurred in a comprehensive wrap-up of Pride events, and to fund various promotional activities centering around Lesbian and Gay Pride week in Boston and elsewhere.

pt Newsletter Editor

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